

# ON CAMPUS IN AMERIKA

Things are different on American campuses--different from the way they were even just a few years ago. The mass media has called it "student rebellion." Pictures of black students at Cornell with guns in hand have symbolized that rebellion. While that event scared the shit out of university bureaucrats the country over, it also puzzled many white students. It shouldn't. We need to understand what's happening . . . why the struggle on campuses and why the repression.

The question of growing repression on college campuses raises most of the fundamental issues that are setting our society in crisis. Repression--however you choose to define it--is a political act. It is carried out to accomplish certain political purposes. It is not irrational; nor is repression the simple product of the most reactionary, the "racist pigs," of the bureaucrats, politicians, and businessmen. (The New York Panther 21 frame-up is being prosecuted under the liberal "anti-war" Lindsay regime.) Repression is a policy, carried out in different ways at different times, with the purpose to stop, prevent (or repress) any movement toward change of power in this society. Repression is carried out by those who have power against those who don't, against those who are organizing to change the seat of power. Thus, it's a policy of those who rule--the ruling class--against the people.

Repression on campus is increasing. To understand why and how this is happening we should keep in mind several key questions about the nature of "our" universities and colleges. Whose interests do the universities serve? Who gets to attend universities and colleges? Who controls the universities. Who benefits from the products of the universities? Who would be threatened by a change of power within the universities?

Answers to these questions come from looking at the university as part of society as a whole. It is not isolated from the rest of society. Once you look at things this way you will find that universities help maintain and support U.S. imperialism around the world. (That is, they help make it possible for U.S. business to invest and make profits at their pleasure around the globe.) They also teach young people to think this imperialistic system benefits them while it doesn't really harm the rest of the world. A look at the world we live in shows what bullshit this is. For example, it is no mistake that people are starving in the great "free" world of India, Spain, South Africa, Taiwan, and most of Africa, and South America. They do not starve in the socialist nations.

American universities serve the interests--both international and domestic--of the system responsible for these differences in the distribution of the world's wealth. They do this in both "hard sell" and "soft sell" ways. The University of Michigan has trained pilots to fight the people in Thailand and develops infra-red "counter-insurgency" techniques to use against the struggles of people in Asia fighting their oppressors. The well known Michigan State University project in Vietnam is another example of the direct involvement of universities in the web of U.S. imperialism. We need only mention, also, the well known facts of university involvement in war research--including chemical and biological warfare--and such service to the system as ROTC programs and platforms for military and business recruiters. The "soft sell" comes through in subtler ways, like the MSU projects which teach people how to set up and thus control the education and economy of developing nations (like Nigeria) in the Third World. Such "aid" programs train people to control education, economy, and politics in countries so that populations will not rebel. The soft sell also has its domestic aspects--it gives people the

skills and knowledge needed only under capitalism. It trains people to "fit in"--under its training, knowledge seems to come only in packaged unit of "courses" and so many credit hours--and excludes anything that contradicts its built-in ethics. Thus, it excludes experiences of many parts of the world, especially of things relating to socialism as a way of organizing society. And we should add that it not only excludes them but that it systematically distorts them. Campus repression, therefore, is a result of the role that universities and colleges play as part of the U.S. imperialistic system.

It's possible to place the increase in campus repression during the past year in several general categories. These general categories can help give us an idea of how "the Man" moves to prevent the growth of movements for change.

**BRIBERY:** Recently, Congress has acted to make it easy for federal loans and scholarships to be taken away from students arrested in demonstrations. Some reports have indicated that over 350 students--mostly black--have been affected so far. The intent is clear: be "good" and you get the money to stay in school; but if you're "bad," no deal.

**FORCE:** During the past year literally thousands of college students have been arrested in campus demonstrations. Police and national guard have been called onto campuses in hundreds of cases, and many have been injured in clashes with the cops. Students have been killed--blacks by occupying police forces--on some campuses. During the past year, we witnessed the use of gas from helicopters on the Berkeley campus.

**BANISHMENT:** Repression has hit activist faculty also. During the past year scores of activist faculty--mostly young faculty who did not have tenure--have been fired or have not had their contracts renewed for political reasons. In addition, activist and radical organizations have been banned on many campuses--particularly black student groups and SDS chapters. Many groups are finding it impossible or difficult to get meeting rooms, access to newspapers and other campus communications, and other use of campus facilities.

**CONTAINMENT:** Efforts to co-opt or side-track movement organizations has stepped up at many campuses. Remember, repression is used for political ends and sometimes the "carrot" can be used as well as the "stick." Slick college administrators can sidetrack movements to abolish ROTC or for open admissions by bureaucratic ("let's form a committee and work it out") or by political ("I agree with you, now here's what we really should do . . ."), or by financial ("here's some money to do your thing--but you can't disrupt the normal functioning of the university") moves.

**HARASSMENT:** The use of infiltrators, spies, agents, and agent provocateurs within campus groups has increased greatly--again particularly within black and third-world groups, and SDS chapters. Cop "surveillance" (often a form of harassment) of other kinds as photographers at meetings and rallies, wire-tappings, investigations which intimidate landlords and employers, have also increased. Documented cases of such activities have been published recently in Hard Times and the Chicago Daily News. Such practices have also been brought out in the Conspiracy 8 trial, where cops had to "surface" some of their informers and wire-tapping.

**CONTROL:** Many of those people who control our society and the universities have felt a need for tighter control over the campus. Placing Hayakawa in charge of San Francisco State--and then promoting him with his "get tough" policies through a nation-





wide speaking tour--is a prime example of this trend toward tighter control of the university. An example of this trend may also be seen in the firing of President Perkins of Cornell because of his "soft" policies toward campus radicals.

Repression has increased on campuses because we have become a radical movement. (Marx defined "radical" as getting to the root of a problem, and we are using the term that way). Blacks have played a leading role in this movement. On campuses across the country it has been blacks who acted first--and in a militant way--against racism and the university's function as a racist institution. Campus struggles are no longer merely about parking or better food; they are attacking the basic role (getting to the root) which the university plays. The struggle of black and world students for open admissions and black studies centers has been an attack on the university's role in perpetuating racism in our society. The struggles against ROTC and war research on campuses have been a specific attack on the role universities play in supporting the militaristic and oppressive aspects of imperialism. The struggles against expansion of universities into black, Latin and poor neighborhoods--at the expense of the people of these neighborhoods--has been a fight against direct instances of universities oppressing the people. These are not struggles for mere reforms--or because we are "idealistic." They are struggles for the just needs of the people--and they are getting to the root of the problem--they are radical struggles.

The increased repression on campus is not unique. Repression is increasing in other parts of society--in fact, it's probably fair to say repression on the campus has taken slower, and milder forms, than it has elsewhere. This is most likely due to the class and race privileges Black and Latin and poor white youth in the ghettos have been shot for less reason than most of the causes for arrests and expulsions of the campus. That's just plain fact. We must place campus repression in proper perspective: consider what it's like for the people of Black, Latin, and poor white communities all the time. Consider how repression has increased there in the past few years--and what it's become for those of these oppressed population when they try to organize to change things. Look at the high schools--they resemble jails more than ever with their rent-a-cops, outright pigs, and up-tight teachers. Look at the communities of our urban areas--where the cops are called "pigs" for good reasons--where they serve the role of an occupying army keeping the population down. Look at the factories and plants--where workers are striking more and more--and often wild-cating against their own union bureaucrats--and finding themselves fighting not only the bosses, but also the cops, union "leaders" and politicians. Look at the Conspiracy 8, and the "trial" which is being conducted to show the rest of us what happens if we put our beliefs of freedom, equality, and justice into practice. Look at America and judge what you see. Is it what it should be--or could be?

Repression for some of the people of our country has become so intense that it is being described as Fascism. That's no joke; in July of this year we know that the Black Panther Party held a conference to form a United Front Against Fascism. They were serious; they said that:

The freedom of all political prisoners and political freedom for all proletarian type organizations, the freedom and political work of all students, farmers, peasants, workers, and the lumpen proletariat must be developed into a national force; a front which has a common revolutionary ideology and political program which answers the basic desires and needs of all people in fascist, capitalistic, racist America. (From the Black Panther Party call to the UFAF Conference).

The Panthers said that fascism is the power of finance capital (that is, the power of the business monopolies and firms); that it is the power of those who control our society whether we know them as "liberal" or "conservative," through their control of the economy. In calling for their Conference against fascism, the Panthers quoted a statement from the Communist International of 1935 which seems like it could have been written today:

Incipient American fascism is endeavoring to direct the disillusionment and discontent of these masses into reactionary fascist channels. It is a peculiarity of the development of American fascism that at the present stage it appears principally in the guise of an opposition to fascism, which it accuses of being an "un-American" tendency imported from abroad. In contradistinction to German fascism, which acts under anti-constitutional slogans, American fascism tries to portray itself as the custodian of the constitution and "American democracy." It does not yet represent a directly menacing force. But if it succeeds in penetrating to the broad masses who have become disillusioned with the old bourgeois parties, it may become a serious menace in the very near future.

What can we do? First, keep on building. Keep on building a movement which convinces people that they must seize power in this society. That takes a long time--a long struggle. It is our job to convince white people that racism and fascism are not in their interests. What we need is a society where there is, truly, power to the people. We can begin where we are--on the campus. And we can fight repression best by remembering our power rests with the people. We must demand and work for making the universities serve the people--all of the people. If we isolate ourselves inside the university--take advantage of privileges given us in the university--we're dead. Our movement is dead. Our protection, our power, and our job, is with the people. When repression hits, we must turn it against "the Man"--as we're doing with the trial of the Conspiracy 8. We must take our case to the people and explain what's happening--that these incredible "trials" are not just the result of Daley or Hoffman being "pigs" or "stupid"; but are happening because we are threatening a system of power and prestige which serves a privileged few--not the people. And we must talk to our fellow students and point out that the advantages, the "privileges" they gain by virtue of being in college, of being white, are not in their interests. More and more of us are recognizing that they lead to the hollow life of plastic Amerika and suburbia, while supporting the oppression of Blacks, Latins, and all of the Third World. Are the "advantages" of Benjamin the Graduate to our benefit?

Repression on the campus? Yes, but we're going to meet it. The schools must serve the people--and we'll fight for that. We refuse to let the Man isolate us with false distinctions. He will not divide us. We will build a movement to serve the people. We will turn repression into POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

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## REPORT ON THE CHICAGO CONSPIRACY

BOBBY SEALE HAS BEEN JAILED FOR 4 YEARS for demanding his Constitutional right to defend himself in court. Judge Julius Hoffman first denied him his lawyer, then denied him his right to act as his own attorney, then gagged and chained him in open court and finally sent him to prison on a contempt charge.

WE ARE BEING TRIED UNDER A STROM THURMOND LAW WHICH GIVES POLICE-STATE POWERS TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. The government charges us with no crime but a "state of mind:" our political philosophy, our cultural identity and our refusal to be intimidated by the beginning of this police state in Chicago.

WE WERE ILLEGALLY WIRETAPPED BY THE GOVERNMENT'S OWN ADMISSION. The government uses our case to further centralize its secret powers by asking the court to allow this wiretapping in the interests of "national security."

WE WERE INDICTED BY A STAR-CHAMBER GRAND JURY and Judge William Campbell, the very official who condemned the Walker Report of the 1968 "police riot". Judge Campbell's conduct was so prejudiced that he was forced to withdraw himself after his self-appointment as trial judge.

WE ARE BEING TRIED BY AN ARCH-CONSERVATIVE 74 YEAR OLD JUDGE, JULIUS HOFFMAN, who continually rasps words of hate at our lawyers and ourselves. Hoffman is a Republican with ties to defense corporations and a reputation as the most vicious Federal judge in his district. When defendants are found guilty, they are given long sentences and denied bonds during their appeals by this man.

WE ARE BEING PROSECUTED BY A POLITICAL PROTEGE OF MAYOR DALEY. Thomas Foran, who hopes to use a "guilty" verdict as a stepping stone to high political office.

WE ARE BEING TRIED BEFORE A RIGGED JURY. We have been denied the right to inquire into the political and social beliefs of the jurors. Only in the wonderland of legal mythology could they be called our peers.

OUR ATTORNEYS HAVE BEEN HARASSED, MALIGNED, CITED FOR CONTEMPT, ARRESTED AND HELD WITHOUT BAIL BY JUDGE HOFFMAN. When four of our pre-trial lawyers did not appear on the first day of court, the judge took the unprecedented action of issuing warrants for their arrest and forced them to defend us in spite of their own clients' protests. After 3 days of court, 2 other attorneys had been cited for contempt for trying to protect constitutionally established rights.

THE POLICE CONTROL THE COURTROOM. Black people and anyone with long hair struggle daily to see the trial. Friends of the defendants are ejected from court for looking the wrong way. Bobby Seale's family has been thrown out. All evidence against us comes from paid undercover agents. The judge cooperates by supporting the government position in hundreds of motions and objections



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WE CALL UPON THE PEOPLE TO STOP THE TRIAL! What Johnson and Daley started in the streets of Chicago last year, Nixon and Mitchell vow to finish in the courts. There can be no fair trial inside this courtroom. We are asking international opinion to condemn the U.S. government as criminal for its policies of war, racism and political persecution. We ask all people of good will to join us in taking action to STOP THE TRIAL. Only through that pressure can the repression be turned back against the government.

STATEMENT OF BOBBY SEALE ON NEWS REPORTS OF HIS COURTROOM ACTIONS:

"To say I made outbursts is erroneous... a lie, misleading the American people. I have to sit hours and listen to testimony, most of it lies directed against the other seven defendants. The only times I've stood up and demanded my right to legal defense are when witnesses say my name. I stand up and say 'I object on the grounds that my lawyer, Charles R. Garry is not here. I've been denied his services and I have also been denied the right to defend myself. So I object to this witness testifying against me.'" And then the judge starts telling me that I have a lawyer, one that he the judge has chosen and not me. That lawyer is Kunstler -- the government doesn't want Charles R. Garry here. Garry knows from being the Chief Counsel of the Black Panther Party, the intricate political repression against the party as it's related directly to the oppression of Black America, historically and presently; he knows how to bring this out legally in the courtroom. And the Pigs don't want him there to defend me. The other times I've stood up and had to speak loudly is during the time when motions are being made and denied by the other defendants' lawyers. My name comes up and my situation comes up so I speak out, not having all those formal legal statements and words on the top of my head. An argument occurs and Tom Foran attempt to lie on me. I call them outright lies. They shout, so I shout. The judge sides with the US Government. I know that I have the right to speak in defense of my constitutional rights and object. If I don't object, or try to make motions, requests to the point of demanding my rights constitutionally, it will imply on record that I accepted the lawyer Hoffman chose for me.

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